SOME OBSERVATIONS ON NORTH-MOLUCCAN MALAY

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This paper lists and discusses a number of features which distinguish North-Moluccan Malay from the national language, Standard Indonesian. The language is described as a continuum with Standard Indonesian as its target language, and highly variable even within the speech of one and the same speaker. A few texts illustrate these points.

1 INTRODUCTION

When I was asked to write a paper on Moluccan Malay for the present volume of NUSA my first reaction was to reject the proposal out of hand. My main exposure to the variants of Indonesian which function as interethnic contact languages in North-East Indonesia has been to Irian Jaya Malay, an offshoot of the Malay dialect spoken in the Central Moluccas, and most of that was more than twenty years ago. I felt I would have little to add to Suharno’s recent article on Irian Jaya Malay (Suharno 1981) and to Collins’ treatise on Ambonese Malay (Collins 1980). My only other experience with Moluccan Malay comes from four months of field work in the North Moluccas (1980-1981) where I made a survey of the non-Austronesian languages of the area. Four months is hardly enough time to acquire a good knowledge of a local lingua franca, especially as my informants usually conversed with me in as close an approximation of Bahasa Indonesia as they could manage. Still, the more salient features of North-Moluccan Malay cannot fail to be noticed by anybody who works for some time in the area. And as they seem to be somewhat different from Irian Jaya and Ambonese Malay— and from Minahasa Malay, judging by the text published by Watuske (1981) — it might be worthwhile to report on them. When writing down my observations on North-Moluccan Malay I shall contrast it with the national language, Standard Indonesian. I shall make no attempt to delimit it from Minahasa and Ambonese Malay, nor shall I deal in any detail with historical and sociolinguistic questions, as they require a much more thorough knowledge of the linguistic situation in the area than I can bring to bear.

North-Moluccan Malay is used as a lingua franca in Halmahera and its offshore islands to the North and West. In contrast to Ambonese and Minahasa Malay it does not seem to have a substantial core of speakers for whom it is the first language. Judging by the earliest text available in the language, a history of Ternate published by Van der Crab (Crab 1878) North-Moluccan Malay had in the latter half of the 19th century acquired most, if not all, of its present characteristics. We don’t know however whether it was spoken uniformly over the whole North-Moluccan area. If it was, this situation changed when Bahasa Indonesia became the national language and by virtue of that, the target language for communication between speakers of different mother tongues. North-Moluccan Malay nowadays is a continuum which at its top approaches Standard Indonesian and towards the bottom shows an increasing number of peculiarities. Any utterance in North-Moluccan Malay displays those peculiarities to a greater or lesser degree depending on such variables as the speaker’s and the addressee’s knowledge of North-Moluccan Malay and Standard Indonesian, the speaker’s status relative to the addressee, and the topic of conversation.

I shall begin by taking North-Moluccan Malay at its ‘bottom’ level, i.e. by describing all the peculiarities I noticed when comparing it with its target language. Then I shall present a few short texts which illustrate these features and show how they tend to become mixed with, or replaced by, features of Standard Indonesian. ‘North-Moluccan Malay’ will be abbreviated NMM, ‘Standard Indonesian’ SI.

2 NON-SI FEATURES OF NMM: A PRELIMINARY INVENTORY

2.1 The lexicon

The NMM lexicon contains a substantial number of words which have no cognates in SI. Most of these come from the Ternate language, one of the non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages spoken in the North Moluccas. The remainder are Dutch or Portuguese loans not found in SI or loans which come from as yet unidentified
2.2 The phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventory of NMM is almost identical to that of SI. The only difference is the presence of two more diphthongs, ae and ao:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p t c k i u</td>
<td>b d j g e a o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m n ny h</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w y</td>
<td>au, ao, ai, ae, oi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs:

Palatal consonants and voiced stops do not occur in word-final position. Word-final p, t, k are usually unreleased. A glottal stop, which in SI is the word-final allophone of k, does not occur in NMM.

2.3 Correspondences involving SI stops

1. Word-final stop in SI often corresponds to ø in NMM:

a) p : ø
   merayap meraya 'to crawl'
   tutup tutu 'to close'

b) t : ø
   empat ampa 'four'
   obat uba 'medicine'
   mulut mulu 'mouth'

c) k : ø
   membalik bale 'to turn over'
   berbisik-bisik bist-bist 'to whisper'
   masuk masu, maso 'to enter'

2. Sporadically occurring correspondences are:

a) SI t : NMM r
   hanyut anyur 'to float'
   kabut kabur 'fog, haze'
   lalat lalar 'housefly'

b) SI d : NMM r
   tidak tera, tara 'not'

c) SI j : NMM d, c, or ny
   berjongkok dongko 'to squat'

2.4 Correspondences involving SI and/or NMM nasals

1. Where SI has word final m, NMM has ng:
   bayam bayang 'spinach'
   jarum jarung 'needle'
   ketam ketang 'crab'

2. Where SI has word-final n, NMM sometimes has ng:
   menorton nontong 'to look at'
   embun ombong 'dew'
   menelan telang 'to swallow'

3. Isolated correspondences involving nasals are:

a) SI n : NMM ny
   manik-manik manyi-manyi 'beads'

b) SI ø : NMM n or ng in word-final position
   belanga balangan 'cooking pot'
   mulai mulaing 'to begin'

2.5 Correspondences involving SI fricatives

1. SI h corresponds to NMM ø:
   hujan ujang 'rain'
   menghamburkan ambur 'to scatter (seed)'
   melihat lia 'to see'
   tahun taun 'year'
   membelah bela 'to split something'
   basah basa 'wet'

2. In word-final position SI h sometimes corresponds to NMM ng:
   jatuh jatong 'to fall'
   runtuh runtung 'to collapse'
   menyentuh sontong, sonto 'to nudge'

3. Isolated correspondences are:

   SI 'h' : NMM k
   bodoh bodok 'stupid'

   SI s : NMM t
   susu toto 'breast (female)'

   SI j : NMM d, c, or ny
   berjongkok dongko 'to squat'
2.6 Correspondences involving SI r and l

1. SI r and l are sometimes absent in NMM:
   - mongambil ambu 'to take'
   - memelihara pila 'to care for'
   - pergi pugi 'to go away'

2. For l, the reverse is also true:
   SI ø : NMM l:
   - kena kenal 'hit by, affected by'
   - kemarin kelemaren 'yesterday'

2.7 Vowel correspondences

1. SI e (written: e) corresponds to any of the other vowels in NMM; generally the NMM vowel is the same as the vowel in the next syllable of the word:
   - empat ampa 'four'
   - bengkak bangka 'swollen'
   - berceritera carita, ce- rita 'to tell something'
   - memetik bapete 'to pick (fruit)'
   - membelah bela 'to split something'
   - monocelup olo 'to immerse'
   - ponoh pono 'full'
   - kenoing kinoing 'urine'
   - pergi pugi 'to go away'
   - perut puru 'belly'

2. A high vowel in SI often corresponds to a mid vowel in the same place of articulation in NMM:
   a) SI i : NMM e
      - membalik bile 'to turn over'
      - peniti feneti 'safety-pin'
      - lebeh lebe 'more'
   b) SI u : NMM o:
      - mongikut iko 'to follow'
      - jatuh jaging 'to fall'
      - masuk maso 'to enter'

3. Where SI has a, NMM sometimes has o:
   - dalam dolong 'deep'
   - menjabat oobo (ta- tangan) ngan 'to shake hands'

4. SI ai corresponds to NMM e, and SI au to NMM o, or u, but only when ai and au are word final:
   - bangkai bangke 'corpse'
   - capai cape 'tired'
   - pandai pande 'clever'
   - mau mo 'to wish, to want'
   - kalau kalo, kalu 'if'
   - hijau ijo 'green'

   but:
   - laut lau, lao 'the sea'
   - baik ba, bae 'good'
   - naik nai, nae 'to climb'

2.8 Shortening

1. NMM has a tendency to shorten a number of words and syntactic constructions which occur with high frequency:
   - SI NMM
tengan, deng 'with'
pergi pugi, pi 'to go away'
(kita, kami) kitorang, ki- 'we'
tong, tong 'they'
(mereka) diorang, do- rang, dong

   In NMM, kita has changed its original meaning 'we (inclusive)' to 'I'; obviously after this semantic change it has been compounded with orang 'people' to form the first person plural: 'kita orang' > 'kitorang, etc. 'we'; there is no inclusive-exclusive distinction in NMM. Similarly, dia 'third person singular' has been compounded with orang to form the third person plural: 'dia orang' > 'diorang, etc. Diorang seems to be archaic, at least I know it only from the History of Ternate (Crab 1878). Dorang is the commonly used form nowadays. Also quite common nowadays is saya instead of kita; as we shall see below it is subject to the same kind of reduction as dia and dorang in the possessive construction, a sign that it is a well integrated part of the NMM vocabulary. For the second person singular and plural the Ternate loan words ngana and ngont respectively are used.

2. Corresponding to SI sudah NMM has sudu, su, and so. Su and so are free
variants and occur only preverbally as a complete aspect marker. *Suda* occurs rarely in this position but is found in other syntactic positions as well. (See e.g. 2.14.)

2.9 Morphological differences

1. NMM has no productive affixes which correspond to affixes in SI. Insofar it has cognates of SI affixes they are either unproductive, or have lost their morphological identity altogether. They are:

   a) *ma-* corresponding to SI *meN-*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI</th>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>menjahtit</td>
<td>manjait</td>
<td>'to sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangesal</td>
<td>mangasal</td>
<td>'to regret'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengaung</td>
<td>mangaung</td>
<td>'to bark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memaki</td>
<td>mamake</td>
<td>'to scold, abuse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   b) *ba-* and *ta-* corresponding to SI *ber-* and *ter-* respectively. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between forms with *ba-* and *ber-* and forms with *ta-* and *ter-*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI</th>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beribut</td>
<td>baribu</td>
<td>'to make noise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berlubang</td>
<td>balubang</td>
<td>'to have a hole in it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menyapu</td>
<td>basapu</td>
<td>'to sweep, wipe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menunduk</td>
<td>batunduk</td>
<td>'to bow, bend down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memetik</td>
<td>batapet</td>
<td>'to pick (fruit)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berputar</td>
<td>batapet</td>
<td>'to spin, turn round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tertikam</td>
<td>tatikam</td>
<td>'stabbed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robek</td>
<td>tarobek</td>
<td>'worn, torn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   In NMM *balayar* 'sail, to sail' *ba-* is no longer a morphologically distinct part of the word.

   c) *pa-* corresponding to SI *paN*. *Pa-* has lost its original semantic function 'marker of the person who performs the action, of the instrument with which the action is performed' and is no longer morphologically distinct:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI</th>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pemalas</td>
<td>pamalas</td>
<td>'lazy person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendayung</td>
<td>panggauung</td>
<td>'to row'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   d) *-i* and *-kan* corresponding to SI *-i* and *-kan* respectively. In NMM they never occur together with the prefix *ma-* (as in SI the *meN- + -i* and *meN- + -kan* forms):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI</th>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>menyangani sayangi</td>
<td>'to love'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melatukkan letakkan</td>
<td>'to put down'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   In a case like *kasi hormati* (Text II) 'to pay respect to', SI: *menghormati*, it is clear that *-i* has lost its morphological function completely; *hormati* functions as a noun in this context.

2. On the other hand, NMM has one fully productive verbal prefix not found in SI. This is *baku-* which marks a verb as reciprocal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baku-dapa</td>
<td>'to meet each other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baku-kasir kode</td>
<td>'to exchange looks of understanding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baku-konko</td>
<td>'to get on well with each other'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Baku- entered NMM from the Ternate language. It has cognates in most of the non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera (Sahu: *ma'yu*, Galela *makV*- etc.) and is, if not of genuine non-Austronesian origin, an Austronesian loan of considerable antiquity in those languages.

2.10 The Possessive Noun Phrase

   Possessive constructions in NMM differ from those in SI in that the possessor always precedes the possessed and is linked to it by a possessive marker *punya* (*pun*, *pu*, *pe*, cf. 2.8.), cognate with SI *punya* 'to own, possess'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI</th>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rumah</td>
<td>bapa punya rumah</td>
<td>'father's house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumahnya</td>
<td>dia punya rumah</td>
<td>'his/her house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumah mereka</td>
<td>dorang punya rumah</td>
<td>'their house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   As mentioned in 2.8. above, *punya* is usually shortened to *pun*, *pu*, or *pe*, and the pronouns also tend to be shortened. The maximally reduced forms *sa*, *di*, and *do* are found only preceding *pu* or *pe*, which gives rise to the interpretation of those maximally reduced sequences as single words: *nepu*, *dipu/dipe/depe*, *popu*. Also the assimilation of *i* to *e* in *depe* is an indication in that direction. So what we could have here is an early stage of the development of a separate series of possessive pronouns.
2.11 The Determiner + Noun Group

In SI the determiners ini and itu follow the noun. In NMM they can precede the noun, and there are also cases in which a noun has a preposed as well as a postposed determiner. There is a clear correlation with the syntactic position of the noun and degrees of emphasis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun + Det.</td>
<td>Det. + Noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>non-emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Dia harus letakkan itu he has to put down the peda di luar machete at outside 'He has to put down the machete outside (the fence)' Untung-untung ini thank goodness this agama manuk religion enter 'Thank goodness the (Christian) religion came!' Jadi, bugitu dia inga so like that he think of itu pesan itu,... that instruction that,... 'So, he obeyed the instruction as he was told...'

However, if the noun is possessed, or qualified, the determiner follows it also in object position:

Jadi dia kumpul orang lima so he gather people five kampung itu villages those 'So he gathered the people of the five villages,...'

dorang makan saya punya they eat my ana ini child this 'They ate this child of mine'

2.12 Verb Phrases with kasĩ, bikin, and ada

1. In 2.9. we have seen that NMM -i and -kan are either unproductive suffixes or are completely fossilized. NMM however has another way of expressing concepts which in SI require an -i or -kan form: the verb phrases bikin + Verb and kasĩ + Verb. Bikin means "to make"; kasĩ in this context is no more than a transitiviser. When it occurs by itself as a verb it means "to give". The construction with bikin correlates roughly with SI -i verbs, the construction with kasĩ with SI -kan verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI</th>
<th>NMM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>memalukan</td>
<td>bikin malu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menandai</td>
<td>bikin tanda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'to make ashamed'
'(e.g. something as one's property)'

but also:

beramai-ramai bikin rame 'to feast, make merry'
menghilangkan kasĩ ilang 'to lose something'
meluruskam kasĩ lurus 'to straighten'
mencinggalkan kasĩ tinggal 'to leave behind'

2. To express progressive aspect, or a state which exists at the time of speaking, NMM uses a construction in which the verb is preceded by ada 'to be (present)'

Raja Moloko ada sakit kras (T.I) sultan Moluccas is ill very 'The Sultan of the Moluccas is very ill (at the moment)'

Satu saat ada bikin rame (T.IV) One moment are make merry 'One day (they) were making merry'

In SI the same idea would be expressed without ada; sometimes sedang is used to indicate progressive aspect:

Sultan Maluku (sedang) sakit keras. Suatu hari mereka berpesta pora.

2.13 Topic - Comment

Unlike SI, MNN has what seems to me a topic-comment construction in which the topic is cross-referenced by a pronoun subject in the comment:
cational meaning but also a directional meaning in NMM and is used in contexts where SI would require ke:

Dia lari di gunung (T.Ic)
he ran to mountain

'He fled to the mountain'

Kedua-duanya jalan-jalan di satu tempat yang kosong itu (T.IVc)
the two of them walked to one place that empty that

'The two of them walked to a certain place which was bare'

2. NMM pa and sama, cognate with SI pada and sama respectively are selected by verbs which in SI have a direct object or select a different preposition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>SI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bertanya kepada tanya</td>
<td>'to ask someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melihat kepada liam</td>
<td>'to look at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mendapat dapa</td>
<td>'to get hold of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengingat inga sama</td>
<td>'to think of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(berkata kepada) bilang sama</td>
<td>'to say to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sampai (pada, sampe sama kepada)</td>
<td>'to arrive at, to reach'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.16 The use of sampe

NMM sampe, like its SI counterpart sampai, is used as a verb meaning 'to reach' and as a preposition meaning 'to, till' but it is also used, unlike sampai, as an adverb meaning something like 'nevertheless' and as a conjunction meaning 'therefore, as a result of that':

Kalo sampe kasi maso dalam if nevertheless made enter inside

pagar, dalam arti dia mau fence, in meaning he want

mwu (T.II)
hostile

'If nevertheless he brought (his knife) inside the fence, that would mean that he was hostile'

Disitu ada kayu, kayu dia pu nama there was tree, tree its name
toguis. Bikin kampung disitu, sampe toguis. Made village there, therefore

kampung nama Toguis (T.III)
village name Toguis

'There was a toguis tree on that spot. They made their village there, and therefore the village is called Toguis'

2.14 Post-verbal suda

In NMM a verb can be followed by suda which then functions as a modal particle indicating a strong emotional involvement of the actor:

Ah ini suanggi ini...lebe bae Oh this evil spirit this...better

kasi pulang suda make return !!!

'Oh I'd really better get rid of this evil spirit!'

Ana itu memang paling children those certainly very much
dorang sayangi suda itu. (T.IVc) they love !!! those

'Certainly they loved those children very, very much!'

2.15 Prepositions

1. The preposition di has not only a lo-
Itu di Manado hanya singga. Sampe those at Manado only called. And so
dia punya pepata, dengan bahasa one's expression in language
ternate nyatakan:... (T.IIIc)
Ternate declare:
' Those (people) called only at Manado. Because of that, there is an expression, which says, in the Ternate language: ...

3 ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS AND GLOSSARY

3.1 Text I

This is a passage from the History of Ternate, written about 1870 by Na'jah, a native of Ternate, in both the Ternate and the North-Moluccan Malay languages. It serves to give some time perspective to the other texts, which I recorded during my field work in the area and shows that many of the features of present-day NMM were at that time present in the language. It is to my knowledge the oldest example of NMM extant.7

The full text was published by Van der Crab (1876) who added a Dutch translation and footnotes. The English translation is mine, and the original Dutch spelling has been changed in accordance with modern Indonesian orthography.8 For clarity's sake also the original punctuation has been changed in accordance with current use.

Tempo itu dia hukom Waihir sampe
Time that he hukom Waihir arrived
di Jokatra dapa orang Engeris
at Jokatra came upon men English
satu kapal dan bagitu orang Engeris
one ship and like that men English
tanya: "Ngoni sapa?" Orang Ternate kaseh asked: "You who?" Men Ternate gave
menyakut "Kitorang Muloko Ternate". answered "We Moluccas Ternate".

"Apa ngoni punya fandun?" Orang Ternate
"What your business?" Men Ternate
bilang: "Trada hanya Raja Moloko said: "Nothing, only Rajah Moluccas
ada sakit kras jadi suruh cari orang is ill very so ordered seek person
kulit putik bikin dia punya ubat skin white make his medicine
punya campor". "Kalau bagitu mari naik". its mixture. "If so come climb".

Orang Ternate naik bawa kayu
Men Ternate went up brought wood
lawan sadiket kaseh sama itu echepper,
cinnamon a little gave to the skipper.
Preksa, dia bilang: "Barguna apa
Inspected he said: "Have use what
dengan barang ini!" dia buang itu.
with stuff this!" he threw away it.
Bagitu Balau Sikau dia turong dan
So Balau Sikau he went down and
pengayon. Abis orang Engeris
rowed away. After that men English
rasah itu kayu lawan rasahnya panas,
tasted that wood cinnamon its taste hot
true panggil orang Ternate tapi suda
at once called men Ternate but already
tiada mau.
ot want.

Note the scarcity of pronouns which is also a feature of texts II and III. Note also the un-NMM form menyakut instead of sakut after kaseh, and the -nya possessive rasahnya instead of the construction with punya.

English translation:

At that time the Hukom Waihir9 arrived at Jokatra10 where he came upon a ship with Englishmen, thereupon the English asked them: "Who are you?" The men from Ternate answered: "We are from Ternate in the Moluccas". "What are you doing here?" "Oh nothing, only the Sultan of the Moluccas is very ill so he ordered us to seek a white-skinned man to mix a medicine for him". "In that case please come aboard". The men from Ternate came aboard and brought a bit of cinnamon which they presented to the skipper. He inspected it and said: "What's the use of this stuff!" and he threw it away. So Balau Sikaull left the ship and rowed away. The English tried the cinnamon and the taste was spicy. At once they called out to the men of Ternate but they did not want (to come back) any more.

3.2 Text II

This text was recorded in the Sahu District in North Halmahera. The speaker was a former village head of middle age who gave a short exposition of some of the old customs of the Sahu people. He begins his narrative in the first person, then switches to the third person plural, and finally settles for the third person singular.
Jadi adat pertama: kita maso
So custom first I enter
kampong, kalu dulu-dulu orang tua-tua
village if formerly men elderly
dulu pake tolu, dorang musti angka
formerly wore hat they had to take off
dulu, tolu. Atau topi juga musti
first hat. Or cap also had to
angkat. Itu tanda manghormati
take off. That token pay respect to
kampong, atau gam. Kedua: kalo dia
village or gam. Secondly if he
maso di halaman ruma, dia livat
entered into front yard house he passed
itu pagar, dia harus latakan itu
the fence he had to put down the
peda di luar. Di luar pagar.
machete at outside. At outside fence.
Tarabole kasimaso di dalam pagar.
Not allowed make enter into inside fence.
Kalu sampe kasi maso dalam pagar,
If nevertheless make enter inside fence
dalam arti dia mau masu. Katiga:
in meaning he wanted hostile. Thirdly
kalu dia maso ruma, dia harus minta
if he entered house he had to ask for
isin atau kasi hormati dulu. Tuan
permission or give respect first. Owner
ruma. Baru dia masok. Baru
house. Only then he entered. Only then
tuan rumah suru: duduk.
owner house told sit down.

Note the variant forms: kalo, kalu; maso,
masu, masuk; angka, angkat. Influence of SI
we see in: menghormati, halaman, pertama,
kadua, katiga, harus. A peculiarity
not described in section 2 is: dalam arti
(SI:artinya) probably influenced by the
speaker's mother tongue Sahu which has
dara 'deep, contents, meaning'. Gam is the
word for village in most of the North Halmaheera languages; tolu (Sahu: tolo) is
a sun hat made of leaves of the sugar palm.

English translation:

So, the first custom: I enter the
village - if this were the past, the
elders formerly used to wear a hat made of
palm leaves - they first had to take that
hat off. The same with the cap (kopiah),
one had to take it off. As a sign that
one paid respect to the kampong, or gam
(as we say). Secondly: if someone entered
the front yard of a house and came past
the fence, he had to leave his machete
outside. Outside the fence. He was not
allowed to bring it inside the fence. If
he nevertheless brought it inside the
fence that was a sign that he intended to
be hostile. Thirdly: when he entered the
house he had to ask permission, or pay
his respects first. To the owner of the
house. Only then could he enter. Only
then would the owner of the house invite
him to sit down.

3.3 Text III

This text consists of two extracts
from the history of the Tobaru people in
North Halmahera as told by Om Katon from
Tongute Goin (Ibu District), the local
authority on matters historical. Accord-
ing to this tradition the Tobaru original-
ly came from Sangir (Sangir and Talauld
Islands). They were forced to leave the
island after a quarrel. After a long
odyssey during which they called at several
places in Sulawesi they ended up on the
northwest coast of North Halmahera.

The first extract contains the ex-
planation of the names of two present-day
Tobaru villages. The second is the con-
clusion of the narrative.

Pertama satu kalompok berangkam dari
First one group left seek
tampa tinggal. Lalu kalompok orang yang
place to stay. And group people who
pertama berjalan, lalu iku ura
first went and followed ridge
tanah liat laut di bawa. Jadi dengan
land saw sea below. So with
bahasa Tobaru: Tokuoko. Itu, bahasa
language Tobaru Tokuoko. That language
Indonesia: yang berjalan ikut
Indonesian those who went following
tanah ka laut, liat laut. Jadi, bikin
land to sea saw sea. So made
kampung disitu. Dia pe nama Tokuoko.
village there. Its name Tokuoko.
Jadi kedua, satu kalompok lagi naik
Then second one group more went up
disitu ada kau, kau diu pu nama kau
there was tree tree its name tree
toguis. Bikin kampung disitu sampe
toguis. Made village there because of
kampung nama Toguis.
Jadi, dinamai: orang Tobaru.
So are called people Tobaru.

Dan orang sangka: Tondano; bukan! Dari And people think Tondano no! From
Sangir. Ada kasalahan. Sampai Sangir. There was offence. So that
dalam kampong itu dorang mau bunu in village that they wanted kill
dorang itu. Jadi dorang itu berasatu them those. So people the together
dalam kaluarga itu, lebah berangkat in family that better depart
dari pulau itu. Sampai ada from island that. Because there is
ingat sejara itu sampai dulu Tobaru, remember history that till past Tobaru
Sangir baku-dapa, dibunu. Sangir met each other were killed.
Karona malu. Dan, ada Because ashamed. And there were
sentimen. Karona Tobaru berangkat dari hostility. Because Tobaru departed from
Sangir, monuru sejara dorang mau Sangir according to history they wanted
bunu, jadi dorang inga ini kill and they remembered this
kill therefore kill each other all the time.

Untung-untung ini agama masuk! Thank goodness the religion came!
Mau masuk, tapi sampe sekarang masih Want come in but till now still
ada-ada. Sangir, kalo di prau, malam, there is. Sangirese if in canoe night
di Masoma, di Loloda Utara, kalo buta at Masoma in Loloda North if dark
pasti dong kasi bunu. sure they kill.

The history of the Tobaru is told in a formal and at the same time almost telegraphic style. The formality is reflected in the relatively large number of SI words (berjalan, dinamai, artinya, etc.), the telegraphic style by the very sparse use of personal pronouns. Note again the formal variation: itu/ikut, lau/laut, inga/ingat, kalo/kalau, sampai/dorang/dong, dia pe/dia pu.

English translation:

First one group left looking for a place to stay. And the first group of people went on its way and following a ridge saw the sea below them. So, in the Tobaru language that is: tokuoko. That is in Indonesian: those who went over land to the sea and saw it. So they built a village there. Its name was Tokuoko. Then one group, the second, (left and) they went up (into the interior). There was a tree there, its name was togulis. They made their village there and so their village was called Toguis.

So they are called the Tobaru people. That means: people who have just arrived. Newcomers. And there are people who think: (from) Tondano.12 That is not true. They came from Sangir. An offence was committed. As a result the people in that village wanted to kill them. And so the people who belonged to that one family thought it better to depart from the island. Because the Tobaru still remembered that history till the (recent) past, Sangirese were killed by them when they encountered each other. Because they felt ashamed. And, there were bad feelings. Because the Tobaru departed from Sangir and according to history they (the Sangirese) wanted to kill them, they killed each other all the time. Thank goodness the (Christian) religion came! Or: is coming in, but till now it still happens occasionally. If there are Sangirese in a canoe at night at Masoma in North Loloda they surely will be killed when it is dark.

3.4 Text IV

This last text is part of a folktale recorded on Makian Island. The storyteller who worked as a public servant in Ngofakiaha came from the West Makian village of Bobawa. In the first part of the story a young couple with two children loses one of them. The father, convinced that an evil spirit has killed the child now wants to become such a spirit himself to take revenge by killing people himself. He finds an old sorcerer who is prepared to help him and who after two unsuccessful attempts succeeds in transforming him into an evil spirit.13

Terus si paatu ini terus Thereupon the old man this at once
kasi tau bilang sama si laki itu: "Saka- let know said to the man that "Now
rang ngana su jadi swanggi. you already became evil spirit.

Jadi, kalau ngana mau ini makan orang, So if you want these eat people
ngana piga di masu-masu begitu, baru you go to crossroads like that then
ngana jaga. Jadi kalo ngana you keep watch. And so if you
gata itu orang yang bikin rame, look out for those people who make merry
a itu! Ngana jaga kalau orang that's it! You watch if people
datang". Jadi bugitu dia inga itu come". So as he obeyed that
pesan itu, terus dia jaga. Satu order that at once he kept watch. One
saaat, ada bikin rame. Dia suda time were making merry. He already
jaga di persimpangan jalan. Bugitu kept watch at crossing roads. Thus
orang lalulalul itu jalan itu; jalan people passed along the road that walked
jalan jalan.... laki-laki itu, nona-nona, walked walked... men the girls
nyongnyong, dong bajalan. Ana-ana, bugitu boys they walked. Children thus
bajalan. Ada pesan dari orang walked. There was instruction from man
tua itu: "Kalo ngana lla itu orang old that "If you see that person
punya sifat itu lengkap, artinya his features those complete that is
dari anggota semua anggota itu lengkap, of limbs all limbs those complete
itu jangan ngana tangkap! Kalo ngana that don't you grab it! If you
tangkap memang sala! Jadi kalo ngana mo grab surely wrong! So if you want
ingin tangkap pa dia, itu ngana tangkap desire grab at him that you grab
orang yang anggotanya kurang". Ya, person who his limbs incomplete". Yes,
bugitu. Terus, serta yang terahir like that. It went on and the last one
ana satu dia lewat, dia punya kopalanya child one it passed its head
tida adain. Sestaiah dia dapa lla not was there. After he could see
itu kopalanya tida ada terus that head its not was there straightaway
dia tangkap. Tangkap, dapa. Dapa he grabbed. Grabbed caught. Got hold
pa dia terus dia makan. Makan pa dia, of it at once he ate. Ate of it
itu suanggi makan pa dia. Dia makan, the evil spirit ate of it. He ate
jadi bugitu dia pe beso ke bawa, dia pe and so its next day to below his
ana meninggal. Ana satu dia meninggal child died. Child one it died
lagi. Bugitu dia pikir pikir "Allah, ini too. That so he thought "God this
mungkin karena saya suanggi saya possibly because I evil spirit I
makan saya punya anda sendiri!" Dia ate my child myself! He
terus pikir punya pikir: "Ah, ini then thought its thought "Oh this
suanggi ini..lebih kasi pulang evil spirit this better send home
suda supaya saya jangan jadi for sure so that I do not become
suanggi lagi!" evil spirit any more!"

The passage illustrates almost every point dealt with in section 2. At the same time influence of SI is evident in the choice of words and in the use of the -nya possessive, sometimes in addition to the NMM construction as in dia punya kopalanya (the story begins with: Carita ini dia punya juduinya itu suanggi 'The title of the story is: The Evil Spirit'). Again we see the alternation between NMM and SI word forms: bugitu/bogitu, makang/makan, mo/mau.

English translation:

Then the old man told that man straightaway: "Now you have become an evil spirit. So if you want to eat those people you have to go to the crossroads and to keep watch there. And if you look out for people who are making merry, that's it! You have to watch if there are people coming". So, obeying those instructions he at once began to keep watch. One day there was a feast. He was already on the look out at the crossroads. There were people walking along the road - they walked, and walked...men, grown-up girls and boys were walking there. And children, too. The old man had given him an instruction: "If you see a person who is intact, that is, whose limbs are all there, you should not try to catch it. If you do, you'll not get hold of him. So, if you really want to catch him, then you have to seize a person who is missing a limb". Yes, that's what he said. So it went on, and at the very last a child came along whose head was missing. When he saw that the head was missing he immediately grabbed it. He grabbed, and
caught it. When he had caught it he ate it up. He ate it, that evil spirit ate it. And the day after he had done that his child died too! And he thought: "God, possibly this happened because I as an evil spirit ate my own child!" And then he thought: "Oh, it's better that I get rid of this evil spirit so that I do not change into it any more!"

3.5 Glossary to the texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NMM</th>
<th>SI</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abis (itu)</td>
<td>habis itu</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada (+ Verb)</td>
<td>sedang</td>
<td>progressive aspect, see 2.12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>anak</td>
<td>to lift up, raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angka</td>
<td>mengangkat</td>
<td>child, to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagitu</td>
<td>begitu</td>
<td>so, like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajalan</td>
<td>berjalan</td>
<td>to walk, to kill each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baku-bunu</td>
<td>saling mem-</td>
<td>to come upon, to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bumuh</td>
<td>to have use, be useful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baku-dapa</td>
<td>bertemu de-</td>
<td>tomorrow, to make, to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngan</td>
<td>to kill, to throw away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barguna</td>
<td>berguna</td>
<td>to kill, to throw away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beso</td>
<td>besok</td>
<td>mixture, to mix, to see, to look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>besoknya</td>
<td>it means, its meaning is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikin</td>
<td>membuat</td>
<td>to catch, to get, to be able to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bole</td>
<td>boleh</td>
<td>to at, to his, her, see 2.10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buang</td>
<td>membuang</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugitu = bagitu</td>
<td></td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunu</td>
<td>membuuh</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>campor</td>
<td>campuran</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cari</td>
<td>menaari</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalam arti</td>
<td>artinya</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapa (pa)</td>
<td>mendapat</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>di, ke</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dia pe/pu/</td>
<td>-nya</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pun/punya</td>
<td></td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dong = dorang</td>
<td>merekka</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulu</td>
<td>dahulu</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tandem</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku</td>
<td>mengikut</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inga</td>
<td>mengingat</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isin</td>
<td>isin</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaga</td>
<td>menjaga</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalo/kalu</td>
<td>kalau</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaseh = kasi</td>
<td>memberi(kan)</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi</td>
<td>memberi hormat</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi bunu</td>
<td>membuah</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi hormat</td>
<td>memberi hormat</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasi maso/masuk</td>
<td>memasukkan</td>
<td>to think, to suppose, to order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| kasi pulang | memulangkan | to send home                      |
| kasi tau | memberitahu | to let know, inform               |
| kita | saya | to see                               |
| kitorang | kami, kita | to see                               |
| kayu | pohon (kayu) | to see                               |
| lau | laut | to see                               |
| lawan | lawang | to see                               |
| lalu-lalu | melalui | to see                               |
| lebae/lebai | lebih baik | to see                               |
| lia | melihat | to see                               |
| liwat | lewat, melawati | to see                               |
| makang | makan | to see                               |
| masti | masih | to see                               |
| maso/masu | masuk | to see                               |
| masuo-masu | persimpangan | to see                               |
| an jalan | crossroads | to see                               |

(maso-masu is probably a West-Makian word)
1. See Collins 1980 for the view that Ambonese Malay is a creole. Wutseke (1981) writes (the translation is mine): "(Manado Malay is) ... the colloquial language and therefore solely a spoken language in Manado, and the common means of communication in the Minahasa and neighbouring areas (...). It probably was the spoken language, the daily language, of the so-called 'browsers' who had settled mainly in Manado and other coastal towns where the V.O.C. had establishments." I take this to mean that Manado (Minahasa) Malay indeed is, and has been for a long time, the mother tongue of a considerable number of its speakers.

According to Collins (personal communication) North-Moluccan Malay is spoken as a first language by communities in Ternate as well as on Bacan and elsewhere. I have not investigated this matter and so have no information on it. If there are such communities in Ternate they are relatively small and not immediately obvious. It would be worthwhile to investigate if first language NMM differs from contact language NMM and if so, if there are significant differences between the creolized forms in, say, Ternate and Bacan.

2. The earliest Malay texts from the area are two letters written on behalf of the Sultan of Ternate to the king of Portugal. They date from around 1520 and are definitely not written in North Moluccan Malay although they contain a few features also present in that language: a instead of a (manyoruh, hayorang for menyuruh, berperang) and the use of pada with buno: mau buno pada for mau membunuh. The letters further contain a few non-Austronesian features such as preverbal object, which are not present in North-Moluccan Malay. They were published by Blagden (1930).

3. For further details the reader can in due course consult my survey of the non-Austronesian languages of North Malmahera (Voorhoeve, forthcoming).

4. My preliminary NMM wordlist of 563 items contains 92 loan words from Ternate, 34 from Dutch, 11 from Portuguese, and 66 unidentified non-S1 words. The relatively large number of loans from Ternate is a feature which is shared by Minahasa Malay, not by Ambonese Malay.

5. See 2.10. for further remarks on these forms.

6. The reference is to the texts in section 3. These are only excerpts from the original texts. When I use an example from a part of a text not included in this paper the reference is marked c (complement): IIIC, IVc. The full text of I can be found in Crab 1878; that of IV in Voorhoeve, ed. 1983. The remaining parts of II and III are among my unpublished data.

7. See note 2.

8. That is, Dutch oe is rewritten as u, dj as j, tj as c and j as y. For the rest the spelling of the published original (which is a transcription of a manuscript in Arabic script) has been retained.

9. Hukom: a title, probably the same as hukama 'judge, scholar in Islamic law'. Waihir was in fact on his way to enlist the help of the Dutch against the Spaniards and the Tidorese with whom Ternate was at war.

10. Jokatra was a place somewhere in the South Sulawesi area.

11. Balau Sikau is earlier described as a slave of Hukom Waihir.

12. In north Sulawesi.

13. A suanggi is a person who has the power to leave his body and roam around as a spirit. Suanggis are always evil and kill people by eating their spiritual bodies. The victim does not notice that he is being 'eaten' but dies a short time afterwards.

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